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A FAITHFUL

HISTORY

OF THE

NORTHERN AFFAIRS

OF

IRELAND:

FROM

The Late K. *JAMES* Accession to the Crown,

TO THE

Siege of *LONDONDERRY.*

Giving a True Account of the Occasions of the Miscarriages there: And of the Reasons why the Gentry abandon'd those Parts.

By a Person who bore a great Share in those Transactions.

LICENS'D *Decemb.* 10. 1689.

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E. Bowerman

FAITHFUL HISTORY

OF THE

NORTHERN Affairs of *Ireland*, &c.

NO ſooner was the late King *James* advanced to the Throne, but he fixed his whole ſtudy upon the Eſtabliſhment of his darling Twins, *Popery* and *Slavery*; and having by ſeveral Inſtances formerly experienced the *Engliſh* Averſion to the Principles of that Religion, he therefore firſt ſet himſelf to conſider ſuch Methods as might beſt ſerve for the Introduction of it, without giving them too near a Proſpect of the Revolution intended. It was for this reaſon thought fit that *Ireland* ſhould be the firſt unhappy Scene of the enſuing Tragedy, where ſuch a Change ſeemed very practicable; for the far greater number of Inhabitants being naturally Slaves to the Yoke of *Rome*, could not but welcome the Chains of a Popiſh Tyrant; yet was not this to be effected on a ſudden for fear of alarming *England*, which was not at that time brought under the Awe of a Standing Army; beſides, the moſt conſiderable part of the Forces then in *Ireland*, conſiſting of ſuch as were Proteſtants, obliged the King to a more wary Proſecution of his Deſigns. It was therefore concluded to move by ſlower ſteps, and to continue the Adminiſtration of Affairs in ſuch hands, as ſhould ſeem to be Proteſtants, that his Popiſh Councils might carry the better Gloſs, and his *Engliſh* Subjects be leſs ſenſible of his varniſht Deſigns. Thus *Ireland* languiſh'd under the unhappy Circumſtances of being ruined by its pretended Friends, when in *England* the unwary Compliance of ſuch as would ha-

zard all to be thought Loyal, gave the King an opportunity of appearing more publick in that which he before durſt only diſſemble; for upon the Compliments that were daily paid him in *England*, he preſumed to divide the Military from the Civil Power in *Ireland*, and ſetled the Regulation of the Standing Army in the hands of a Papiſt, who was obliged to frame it to ſuch a Model as might beſt ſquare with the Turn intended: For this Service *Talbot* was created Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and ſent over armed with an abſolute Power of disbanding ſuch as he ſhould judg diſaffected to their Deſigns.

At his firſt landing, he was highly courted by the Two Lords Juſtices, both of them paying him that Reſpect (tho as is ſuppos'd by the King's directions) which they ought to have received from him, and as he has been often heard to ſay, doing his Buſineſs faſter than he could have done it himſelf. Nor could the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſucceeded them in the Government, ſtop *Tyrconnel*'s career; and tho he often interpoſed his Civil Authority, yet could he not prevent the whole Military Strength from devolving into the hands of the Papiſts; for in his time were moſt of the Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers caſhier'd, the Militia of the Countrey diſarmed; the Forts and Strong-holds put into the Poſſeſſion of the Papiſts; and every thing elſe done, which might prepare an eaſie Acceſs for a Popiſh Governour.

Thus far were their Deſigns advanced in *Ireland*, under the Umbrage of a Proteſtant Power, when *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, and the great Loyalty that ſuppreſſed it, raiſed the Popiſh Party ſo far above their former hopes, that they now thought it high time to lay aſide the Mask; and to this end it was reſolved, That the Civil and Military Power ſhould re-unite in a Papiſt, who might act both as Deputy and General in that Kingdom. This double Truſt was conferred on the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, whoſe paſt Services,

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and avowed Prejudices to the Proteſtant Intereſt, recommended him as the fitteſt Perſon to Act that Part of the Tragedy; He was a man of a comely Preſence, but Haughty, Proud, and Inſolent, and therefore was not at firſt reputed Maſter of ſo much Policy and Diſcretion as he afterwards appeared to be; his open Practices againſt ſuch as Profeſſed the Reformed Religion, and his ſevere uſage of them whil'ſt he was but a Private Collonel, made them fear a ſudden Stroke from his greater Authority, upon which many of the Richeſt and moſt Powerful of the Countrey, removed themſelves with their Effects for *England*; and his Averſion to the *Brittiſh* Settlement was ſo generally known, that very few durſt ſtand the Teſt of it. This great Change in the Civil Government, much Impoveriſhed and Deprived *Ireland*, not only of its Wealth, but of a far greater Treaſure, its Wiſeſt Men, thoſe that were left behind, being only ſuch, as altho they had known how to have helped themſelves, yet wanted both Power and Means to Effect it.

Tho' the Proteſtant Intereſt was chiefly ſtruck at in this great turn, yet the Trading part of the Papiſts were alſo ſenſible of the conſequences of it; for the whole Kingdom in a ſhort time languiſhed under a general Conſumption of Trade; and the Exchequer Receipts were ſo reduced, that it was feared they would not Anſwer the publick Payments. This put *Tyrconnel* upon a pretended Moderation, who for ſome time concealed his Temper under a mask of gentleneſs, hoping thereby to have deluded back ſuch as had been the ſtaple Traders of this Kingdom; but they being convinced that the ſame deſigns were ſtill on foot, tho' carried on by ſlower ſteps, would not be perſuaded to re-embark their Fortunes under the Convoy of a Popiſh Pilot; *Tyrconnel* ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed in his Art of Diſſimulation, reaſſumed his own Nature; and laying aſide his Hypocriſie, openly acted as the profeſſed Enemy

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to the *Britiſh* Intereſt; and having already Inveſted the Native *Iriſh* with a full Power over the Lives of their Conquerors, by Arming them with the Swords of Revenge, he afterwards packed ſuch Judges on the ſeveral Benches as were every way engaged to ſubvert the Legal Settlement of the whole Kingdom.

These were the unfortunate Circumſtances the poor Diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *Ireland* laboured under, when nothing but the happy News of our preſent King's Charitable Deſigns, could have raiſed them to the Hopes of a better Fortune; and His Majeſties good Endeavours, being Crowned in *England* with a ſuitable Succeſs, put them upon projecting ſuch Methods as might beſt ſerve to compleat their Deliverance.

The only parts of *Ireland* where the Number of Proteſtants exceded the Papiſts, were the *Northern* Counties, whoſe neareſt ſcituation to *England* and *Scotland*, had invited ſeveral Families to Tranſport themſelves thither, by which means they grew ſo Populous, that they became a Terror to their *Iriſh* Neighbours, and were for that reaſon believed to have been thrice as many, as they afterwards appeared to be; ſeveral Proteſtants flattered themſelves with the ſame thoughts, which proved the greateſt Spur to their preſent Confuſion; for the Gentlemen of that Countrey, preſuming too far upon the Opinion of their own Strength, and finding the Affairs of *England* run Succeſsfully on the Proteſtants ſide, raſhly fancied themſelves able enough to Attempt their Deliverance; and being in daily hopes of a conſiderable ſupply from *England*, thought it would very much conduce to their Honour ſhould they be found in a Poſture of receiving it; but that which fixed their Reſolutions, was the neceſſity they ſeemed to lie under, of Arming themſelves againſt a Numerous Rabble, which *Tyrconnel* was then raiſing, and who had no other viſible means to ſubſiſt, but on the Plunder and Ruine of the Proteſtants.

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In the Proſecution of this Affair, the *L^d.* *B*——— in the Counties of *Ardmagh* and *Monaghan*, and Sir *A*——*R*——— in *Down* and *Antrim*, appeared moſt forward; but the Councels of the latter, were chiefly manag'd by Mr. *H*—*ton* of *T*— who about *September* 1688. very much buſied himſelf to engage ſuch Gentlemen in an Aſſociation, as he knew his Reaſon could beſt influence; inviting them to it by urging the Probability of Succeſſes, from the current of Affairs in *England*, and ſhewing ſeveral Letters from thence, which promiſed a Speedy Relief, tho in the end moſt of them proved as falſe, as the late Accounts from *Londonderry*. Tho this Gentleman was but of Moderate eſteem at other times amongſt them, yet his Arguments in this Conjuncture, were ſo enforced by the general Diſſatisfaction of the Countrey (ſome having juſt before loſt their Livelihoods with their Imployments, and others dayly expecting to be ejected out of their Eſtates by the corrupt Treſpaſſes on the Acts of Settlement) that they were eaſily perſuaded to joyn in any Confederacy, which might reſcue them from the approaching Ruin; and at this time their Reſolutions ſeemed confirmed, by ſuch an Opportunity as Promiſed an undoubted Succeſs to their Deſigns; for moſt of the Diſciplined Army that Quartered in the *North*, were juſt before embarqued for *England*, in order to oppoſe our preſent King's Landing.

Hitherto none of the Nobility had appeared in the Counties of *Down* and *Antrim*, which held ſeveral Gentlemen of thoſe Parts in Suſpence, who were unwilling to engage in an Enterpriſe of that Conſequence, unleſs Countenanced by Perſons of the beſt Quality, and tho otherwiſe the Lords of *M*——— and *M*———, were men of no extraordinary great Intereſt, yet it was generally thought more agreeable to the Rules of Policy and good Manners, that the Heads of a Party ſhould ſpring from the Nobility, whoſe precedence was Indiſputable, than from

from the Gentry or Commonalty, where every man's equal pretence might breed Confuſion: It was therefore concluded, that ſuch Methods ſhould be immediately taken, as might beſt ſerve to engage thoſe two Noblemen, and the E. of *M*——— being deaf to all Arguments, was at laſt drawn in by a Letter found in *Comber*-Street directed to his *Lordſhip*, and importing the diſcovery of an Intended Maſſacre by the Papiſts, upon the Ninth of *December* following; and for the better credit of this Letter, it was pretended that notice of the ſame deſign had been ſent to *H*—*ton* of *T*'s Brother, all which (as I have been very well aſſured) was only a contrivance deviſed, as the readieſt means to engage the Earl, and animate a dejected People, who of themſelves were backward to all Arguments of that Nature. However upon this Information, *H*—*ton* of *T*— Rid Poſt for *Dublin*, and it was ſo ordered, that my L—— *M*'s——— Letter met him at *Dundalk*, by which means he went up fraighted with a double Diſcovery; The Arrival of this News at *Dublin*, ſo Alarm'd the City, that above Five Thouſand Proteſtants Appeared in Arms that Night, and many Hundred Families Embarqued from all Parts in ſuch Confuſion, that they left every thing but their Lives behind them; but that which hapned of greateſt conſequence upon this Diſcovery, was, the extraordinary accident that attended the account of it in *Londonderry*; where it had no ſooner arrived, but it ſeemed to be confirmed, paſt a doubt, by the Advance of a Conſiderable Part of the Earl of *Antrim*'s Regiment, conſiſting of Five New-rais'd Companies, which together with the Rabble that followed, made up at leaſt a Thouſand men (deſigned for a Gariſon to the Town); the Inhabitants ſeeing ſuch a Number, and concluding them to have been the Inſtruments deſigned for the Execution of the Pretended Maſſacre, immediately ſhut up their Gates, and Diſcharging ſome great Guns upon the nearer approach of the

Iriſh

Iriſh, (who were only intended for a Gariſon to the Town) obliged them to Retreat in great diſorder; and the Townſmen keeping their Gates ſhut, iſſued out a Declaration, ſhewing their Reaſons for what they had done; which they wholly imputed to the Apprehenſion of a Popiſh Maſſacre; this Contrivance did very much weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt, by leſſening their Numbers; ſo did it much ſurpriſe *Tyrconnel*; who either ſuppoſing it to have been but a Fiction by the *Engliſh*, had reaſon to believe it deviſed in order to promote ſome Future Deſign; or elſe, knowing it to have been really intended, could not but be touched with the Diſcovery of it: The Effect was, it haſtn the Advance of Forces in all parts of the Kingdom; *Tyrconnel* having diſpatch'd Circular Letters to the ſeveral Counties, encouraging the raiſing of men, by promiſing to each Perſon a Commiſſion ſuitable to the Number he ſhould Liſt; The Earl of *Meath*, *Grenard*, and other Proteſtant Peers, Reſiding at that time in *Dublin*, and foreſeeing the Evil Influence that would neceſſarily follow the Conjunction of ſo vaſt a Rabble joyned in a Remonſtrance, and Petitioned, That no more Commiſſions might iſſue; but received ſuch an Anſwer, as haſtned the Earl of *Meath* for *England*, under colour of Repreſenting the Melancholly Circumſtances of that Kingdom; but what Service he did for the Countrey (tho it be many Months ſince) we are not yet ſenſible of.

The raiſing of theſe New Levies, was the great ſtep to thoſe heavy Misfortunes that ſoon afterwards fell upon the whole Kingdom; for their Officers having abandon'd them to their own ſhifts, and the Government allowing no other ſubſiſtence than what they could Plunder from the Proteſtants, brought ſuch a Fate upon the Gentlemen of *Lemſter* and *Munſter*, that moſt of them enjoyed but one days ſpace between Riches and Beggary. Amidſt theſe Convulſions, the *North* only remained undiſturbed; for *Tyr-*

connel not having yet raiſed any conſierable Numbers, rather Feared than Deſpiſed them; and the News of what hapned in *Londonderry*, made him dread the Conſequence of ſuch an Example; which put him upon engaging my Lord *Mountjoy*, to uſe his utmoſt Intereſt and Endeavours towards the Reduction of that Town; who after ſome Debate, and upon Condition, that the *Iriſh* ſhould be firſt Disbanded, was admitted with Five Companies; and being under an obligation of returning, Recommended the Care of the Gariſon to his Lieutenant Collonel *Lundy*.

Matters being thus far Accommodated in *Derry*, and *Tyrconnel* being willing to ſecure himſelf againſt the *Northern* Numbers, Prudently reſolved to keep up a fair Correſpondence with them; and in order to it, he invited ſeveral of the Leading-men to attend him at *Dublin*; but the Countrey not judging it ſafe to venture many of them, leſt they ſhould be detained as Hoſtages; nor Politique, wholly to deſpiſe his Summons, concluded that only Sir *Robert Colvil* ſhould be entruſted with this Undertaking; who being very kindly treated by the Government, was diſmiſſed with repeated Aſſurances, That if his Countrymen would continue quiet in their Reſpective Habitations, they ſhould be only charged with the Incumbrance of Two Regiments; but as it ſoon afterwards appeared, *Tyrconnel* had never intended to keep theſe Promiſes any longer than they ſerved his Deſigns; for immediately upon Sir *Robert*'s departure, he Commanded a Detachment out of another Regiment to reinforce the Gariſon at the *Newry*. It's likewiſe to be preſum'd, that Sir *Robert Colvil* promiſed more in behalf of the *Northern* Gentlemen, than they were willing to make good; for at his return he found them engaged in a Project, which as well in reſpect of his Promiſe, as in common Prudence, he thought himſelf obliged to oppoſe; judging it not fit to incenſe a Government that courted them, eſpecially ſuch a one as he very well knew they could not

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be able to oppoſe, ſhould they be reduc'd to extremity, being ſenſible that the *Northern* Strength conſiſted much more in Reputation, than in any real Force they could make; but all his Endeavours were vain, and his Advice branded with the Epithetes of *Cowardly* and *Popiſh*, by thoſe who had afterwards Reaſon to wiſh they had yielded to ſuch Moderate Councils.

The Two Regiments which by *Tyrconnel*'s engagement were deſigned for the *Northern* Quarters, hapned at this time to be Gariſon'd in *Lysburn*, *Belfaſt*, *Carricktergus*, and other adjacent Places, under the Command of the Earl of *Antrim*, and Sir *Thomas Newford*; when upon a ſolemn debate by a Commitee of ſuch as had ſubſcried the Aſſociation, it was concluded that thoſe Regiments ſhould be diſarmed, and the Caſtle of *Carrickfergus* ſecured, in which were Arms for Two Regiments more. Upon the Strength of this Attempt they purpoſed to have oppoſed *Tyrconnel* upon equal Terms, and by putting a Gariſon into the *Newry*, they hoped to have ſtop'd that Paſs, and thereby to have ſecured the two Counties of *Down* and *Antrim* for the Proteſtant Intereſt. This project ſeemed the more Feaſible, becauſe one Hundred and Fifty of *Newcomen's* Regiment, conſiſting only of 500. were Proteſtants, and ready to joyn in the execution of this Deſign, offering as a farther demonſtration of their good will to the Publick Service, an excellent Stratagem for the Surpriſe of the Caſtle at *Carrickfergus*, which they propoſed to effect, under the pretence of their Collonel's purpoſe to Gariſon there; but the failure of their Deſigns againſt *Belfaſt*, rendered this Contrivance uſeleſs, which hapned in this manner. When the Project of Diſarming the Popiſh Soldiers in that Town was upon Execution, Sir *W*—— *F*——, Mr. *V*——, and Mr. *H*----*ton* of *T*——, together with Capt. *Leighten*, Capt. *Bernigham*, Lieut. *Barnes*, Lieut. *Tubman*, and ſeveral other Officers of the Regiment, and Citizens of the Town, met in

order to accompliſh their Deſigns; but the firſt three, relenting, abſolutely deni'd to go on, tho often preſſed to it by the Officers; Capt. *Leighton* urging the Feaſibleneſs of it, by engaging to Diſarm the whole Gariſon, with the aſſiſtance only of as many men as might ſerve to bring off their Arms; but the three firſt Gentlemen diſcountenancing the Captains offer, and interpoſing their great Authority with the Town, the whole Project fell, and *H---ton* of *T*——— Gallopped towards Sir *Arthur R*———, who Marching with Five Hundred men to make good the Attempt, was advanced within Five Miles of the Town; when this ungrateful Meſſage diverted him, and occaſioned his giving ſuch marks of Reproach, as was due to thoſe who had ſtifled ſo hopeful a Deſign: Thoſe who had been appointed to Seize the Popiſh Arms in *Lisburn*, having taken the advantage of the night, did the work; but their Correſpondence at *Belfaſt* aſſuring them of a failure by the Undertakers of that Town, made them dread the conſequence of being ſolely expoſed to the Revenge of the Government; which conſideration put them upon returning thoſe Arms they had taken; the ſeveral Gentlemen who Commanded in the Army, having by this vain Attempt Diſcovered their averſion to the Popiſh Intereſt, Marched off with 150 of their men, hoping thereby to prevent any Surpriſe, which might have afterwards betrayed them into the hands of their Collonel, who likewiſe finding his Number very much decreaſed by the Deſertion of ſo many of his Soldiers, and fearing the conſequence of a Second Project, Retreated in all haſte to ſafer Quarters: The Gariſon of the *Newry* (which at that time only conſiſted of two Companies) hearing of the Proteſtant Deſign againſt the Soldiers in *Lisburn* and *Belfaſt*, and expecting a ſudden onſet from the Inhabitants of that Town, quitted their Poſts, and could not be perſuaded to return, till they were firſt aſſured of the Unhappy failure.

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As this miſcarriage proved a Warning-piece to alarm the Popiſh Party; ſo on the other hand it very much diſcouraged the Proteſtant Intereſt; for ſeveral Gentlemen (eſpecially ſuch as were to have been actually engaged in this Attempt) being apprehenſive of the dangers that might attend ſuch timorous Councils, provided for their future ſafety by ſecuring a Paſſage for *England*; and *Tyrconnel* being now convinced of the *Northern* Deſigns againſt his Government, immediately reinforced the Gariſon at the *Newry*, thereby ſecuring an eaſie entrance into the *North*, and intercepting all Correſpondence between the *Northern* and other Proteſtants; which proved a matter of ſuch Conſequence, as by this means no Letters or Meſſengers were ſuffer'd to paſs or re-paſs, but ſuch as he knew would beſt ſerve his turn.

The Gentlemen who had been the unhappy occaſion of all theſe Miſchiefs, being ſenſible of the unfortunate Circumſtances to which they had reduced that Countrey, now began to conſider of ſuch methods as might make amends for their paſt Miſcarriages: To this end a General Meeting at *Comber* was concluded on, in which they might agree what Courſe next to ſteer, and how for the future to lay ſuch a Scene of Affairs, as might give them a better Proſpect of Succeſs. Mr. *H—ton* appearing moſt officious upon this occaſion, and having undertook the Diſpatch of Circular Letters, ſummon'd only ſuch as he knew would be either guided by his Counſels, or elſe wanted Intereſt to oppoſe his Deſigns; for he neither ſummon'd Mr. *Anneſly*, Sir *Rob. Maxwell*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Savage*, nor any other Gentleman whom he believed would not readily reſign a blind aſſent to his humour, tho they were otherwiſe Perſons every way qualified for the Publick Service: But that which hapned of greateſt difficulty, was the excluſion of Sir *Rob. Colvil* from this Meeting, whoſe great Eſtate in the Countrey, and Intereſt in the very Town where they ſate, ſeemed to oblige them to take notice of him; but it was ſo contrived, that the

the Gentlemen who were designed for Council, assembled on the 13th, at which time the methods were concluded on, and Sir *Rob.* summoned the next day, to assent, if he pleased, to what he could not alter. This Convention, which only consisted of Sixteen Gentlemen, being sat at *Comber*, the first things discoursed of, were the Disorders, Delays, Openness, and other Inconveniences that attended their former Meering, to which the failure of their Designs was chiefly attributed; and to obviate those Mischiefs, it was agreed, That a *Junto* of Five should be chosen for the County; any Three whereof should be empowered to act as the Representatives of the rest, whose Decrees and Orders should be as binding, as if they had been concluded by the general Voice of the Countrey.

And it was likewise agreed, That an Association should be proposed by the Gentlemen of that County, to the other Counties of *Ulster*, for the joint Preservation of the Publick Interest, and Protection of the Protestant Religion. Matters being thus far adjusted by the consent of the whole Convention; the next thing to be considered, was the Election of Five such Persons as were best qualified to represent the County; and for that service, the E. of *M*——, Sir *A*——*R*——, Mr. *H*—— of *B*——, Mr. *H*——, and *H*—— of *T*——, were proposed at the instance, and by the directions of the latter; who having packed the greatest part of the Assembly, could not want a Majority of Votes to declare in favour of such as he thought fit to recommend.

These Gentlemen being complimented with a tender of the Care and Trust of the County, at first as modestly refused, as the New Pope does the Papacy, which they afterwards as willingly embraced; and tho some of the Convention thought others far better qualified, both in Interest, and Parts, for a Charge of that Consequence, particularly Sir *Rob. Colvill*, whom they would have at least complimented

mented with the choice of being one, considering his Fortune was almost equal to the Joint-Estates of the other Five, and that his Age and Experience had rendred him much fitter for an Employment of that nature; but *H---ton* of *T*—— being well assured that Sir *Robert* would not be prevailed with to serve any private Designs, passionately opposed all Motions in his favour; and for want of a better Argument, threatned to desert the Assembly, if they should admit a Proposal so averse to his Interest. Till this Meeting at *Comber*, many thought *H-ton*'s earnest Sollicitations had proceeded from a real Concern for the Protestant Interest; but it was now plainly discovered, that the whole scope of his Designs tended only to settle him in such a Post as might render him more remarkable to the *English* Government.

The Convention having invested the *Junto* with the whole Power of the County, were of course dissolved, and the *Junto* immediately withdrew from the rest of the Company, in order to act separately, in pursuance of their new Commission: It was first determined, That a fit Person should be sent with an Address to our present King, congratulating His Happy Access to the Throne, and imploring the Assistance of *England* for their speedy Relief; and several Gentlemen were propos'd for this Expedition; but none so generally approved of as Mr. *Hamilton* of *Comber*, who besides his other Qualifications, had a just pretence to the Employment, having been formerly chosen for this Service by the Vote of the whole County; but *H*——*ton* of *T*—— fearing perhaps that he might by this opportunity forestall his Designs, set up Capt. *Leighton* in opposition to his Kinsman, and by his Interest so far prevailed, that the Captain was preferred to this Honourable Errand; Mr. *Hamilton* seeing himself thus postponed by the Contrivance of his own Relation, and the Honour conferred on his Competitor without the least Apology for rejecting him, was so highly sensible of the Abuse, that he soon afterwards quitted the Countrey.

Whilst

Whilſt theſe things were debated in Council, ſeveral Expreſſes arrived from *Dublin*, which by Publick Orders were immediately carried to the *Junto*, and ſome Gentlemen then in Town, who had been always privy to the former Correſpendence, being denied a ſight of theſe laſt Accounts, very much reflected upon the meaſures newly taken, expecting but ſlender returns from a Council, who in its very Infancy preſumed to act ſo arrogantly, diſobligingly, partially, and imprudently: The *Junto* fearing the conſequence of theſe Publick Cenſures, very much laboured to quiet the minds of the Male-contents, who began to unravel the very Methods by which they were convened, and to proteſt againſt the evil Arts that eſtabliſhed them. The next day, according to the return of his Summons, Sir *Rob. Colvill* came to Town, on whoſe Appearance it was judged convenient to admit him of the Council, hoping thereby to reconcile themſelves to the Gentlemen of the Countrey; and to make way for him, my Ld *Mount-Alexander* was appointed General of the Forces of the two Counties of *Down* and *Antrim*: Sir *Robert* being admitted, the *Junto* proceeded to nominate Five Perſons out of every Barony to repreſent the Condition of it, propoſing by this method a clearer view of the Strength and Force of each County; and it was likewiſe moved and agreed, that every County for its better intelligence ſhould ſubſtitute one Perſon to be always reſident at *Hilsburg*, by which means the ſeveral Circumſtances of the *North* might be the better underſtood, and the execution of their Deſigns be for the future grounded on more united Reſolves. To this purpoſe it was judged neceſſary that a general Aſſociation ſhould be ſubſcribed by the Gentlemen of that Province, and that the Methods deviſed by this *Junto*, ſhould be propoſed as an Example to the neighbouring Counties; Sir *W*—— *F*——, who with Mr. *H*---*ton* of *T.* had formerly contrived the Aſſociation, went to my L^d *Maſſareen's*, where he had appointed the Gen-

Gentlemen of the County of *Antrim* to meet, who on the next day appeared to the Number of Five and Thirty, and Sir *William* having addreſſed himſelf to them, propoſed the ſeveral Decrees of the County of *Down*, as a Preſident fit for them to follow; urging the Conveniency of a ſeparate Council, as alſo ſeveral Arguments to induce them to a General Aſſociation; but my L^d *Maſſareen*, and ſeveral of the Gentlemen, earneſtly oppoſed it, alledging the want of Arms and Experience, both which were judged to be antecedently neceſſary to ſo publick a Declaration, which would otherwiſe rather prove a means to haſten their ruin, than to promote their Deliverance; and for that reaſon they inclin'd to wave the thoughts of an Aſſociation, and only join in a private Addreſs; but Sir *W*—— *F*—— preſſing it upon them by many ſpecious Arguments, urging, That it would convince the King of their Readineſs to ſerve his Intereſt; and that the People of *England* would be thereby obliged to ſend them a more early Supply, prevailed with the greateſt part of them to Aſſociate, and appoint a certain Number of Gentlemen for their Repreſentatives; tho they would not agree to the ſame Methods with the County of *Down*, who inveſted their *Junto* with an Abſolute Power, not approved of by any other County. *Antrim* having thus far agreed to what had been propoſed, in the next place proceeded to an Election, and made choice of Sir *William Franklyn*, Mr. *Upton*, Mr. *Davis*, Mr. *Harriſon*, and Mr. *Shaw*, for their *Junto*; and the County of *Ardmagh* following the ſame courſe, elected Sir *Nich. Atcheſon*, Capt. *Points*, and *Middleton*; but *Derry*, *Donnegal*, and *Tyrone*, abſolutely refuſed to reſolve themſelves into any Committee; neither could they be perſwaded to agree to an Aſſociation, and yet they likewiſe put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, under the Command of Col. *Lundy*; but the other Project of a Reſident at *Hilsburgh*, was ſo generally approved, that each County, in purſuance of the Methods propoſed by the *Junto* of *Down*,

recommended their ſeveral Repreſentatives, who when they met, formed themſelves into a General Aſſembly, and in a little time aſſumed the power of a Supreme Council: The ſeveral Gentlemen who were preferred by their reſpective Counties to this great Truſt, were as ſollows, *viz.* Mr. *Upton* for *Antrim*, Capt. *Poynts* for *Ardmagh*, Mr. *Cunningham* for *Derry*, Mr. *Johnſton* for *Monaghan*, and Mr. *H——ton* of *T——* for *Down*, who were Convened under the Preſidency of the E. of *Mount-Alexander*. The Conſtitution of this Aſſembly did in a great meaſure ſupercede all Inferior Juriſdictions; eſpecially in that County where they ſat; ſo that the *Junto* of Five became by this means of little or no uſe, and conſequently the whole Management of *Down* fell under the directions of Mr. *H——ton* of *T——*, who at their firſt Seſſion propoſed to diſpatch Capt. *Leighton* with an Addreſs to the King; but that matter having received its firſt Motion in the former *Junto*, the reſt of the Council thought fit that nothing ſhould be determined without their approbation and Conſent; and it was therefore ordered that Letters ſhould be ſent to ſummon the *Junto*; and by ſome private Inſtructions Sir *Rob. Colvil* was induſtriouſly omitted, who believing it to proceed from the former Prejudices, and concluding the buſineſs of the Addreſs already agreed on, to be the only occaſion of that Meeting, did not give himſelf the trouble of appearing that Seſſion; but when he afterwards found that Capt. *Leighton* was not only engaged to Preſent the Addreſs, but likewiſe entruſted with a particular Recommendation of ſuch Perſons as were judged fitteſt for the Military Service, he then concluded they had omitted him with a deſign of forecloſing his Pretences to that Poſt in the Army, to which his Eſtate and Intereſt in the Countrey would have entitled him; but that which encreaſed his Reſentments, was to find the ſeveral Precincts of the Country allotted to each Col. for the raiſing of his men; and that his Eſtate was appointed to that Perſon whom he had

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the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect for the only Author of this Abuſe. No ſooner was a Journal of the Proceedings of this Seſſions Publiſhed, but the Countrey generally exclaimed againſt the Injuſtice done to Sir *Rob. Colvil*; and to amuſe the People, it was ſome time afterwards propoſed to meet at Sir *Robert*'s Houſe, under colour of acquainting him with ſuch Papers and Inſtructions as they had ſent by Capt. *Leighton*; being well aſſured, that the Injury done him, was now paſt retrieve, Capt. *Leighton* having received his Credentials, and being at that time ready to embark for *England*. Sir *Robert*, upon peruſal of the Addreſs, ſeemed better ſatisfied with the ſlight they had placed on him, becauſe ſeveral Particulars of it did not only contradict his private Senſe, but were alſo contrary to the general Opinion of the whole Countrey; for firſt, It was ſuppos'd they flatter'd themſelves in giving too great a Character of their own ſtrength; and that propoſing only twelve Regiments to be newly raiſed for the Defence of the *North*, ſeemed as if they either underſtood not the Power of the *Iriſh*, or elſe had a mind to betray their Countrey. In the next place they greatly diſcovered their own weakneſs, by joining Five Counties in the raiſing of Twelve Regiments, which *Tyrconnel* and the *Iriſh* always believed able to have advanced above Fifty Thouſand men; and tho it was propoſed that each Regiment ſhould conſiſt of 13 Companies, and every Company of 100 men, yet this was likewiſe judged imprudent, becauſe many Gentlemen were thereby excluded, who would have readily commanded a Company, tho unwilling to ſerve as a *ſubaltern* in ſuch a Militia. They were alſo very much condemned for appointing the ſeveral Officers for each Company, without conſulting them whether they were willing to ſerve; but that which fixed the greateſt Reproach upon them, was the particular Returns of ſeveral Collonels; for knowing their own County would not afford them ſcope enough to provide for all their Confederates, they preſu-

med to reverſe the Decrees of other Counties, without the Privity of their Repreſentatives; this practice is very remarkable, in the Affront they placed upon Capt. *Poynts*, whoſe former good Services in the Army, and Intereſt in *Ardmagh*, had recommended him to the Character of being Reſident for that County, and was afterwards repreſented as a Perſon beſt qualified to command their Forces; but *H——ton* of *T.* fearing it might be inconſiſtent with his Deſigns to admit this Gentleman to a place ſo conſiderable, pretended ſome urgent Affairs to be tranſacted in the County of *Ardmagh*, in which Capt. *Poynts* was engaged; and the other taking the advantage of his Abſence, procured that Command for a Gentleman of his own name; the Capt. being returned as Lieut. Col to Sir *John Macgill*, and finding himſelf thus abuſed, ſeparated from their Council, and for ever after denied to act in Conſult with thoſe who had ſo baſely betrayed him.

The Twelve Regiments recommended for Commiſſions, conſiſted of 8 Foot, 2 Horſe, and 2 Dragoons, which together with their Collonels and Counties, take as follows, *viz.*

E. of *Mount-Alexander*, a Regiment of Horſe to be raiſed in *Down* and *Antrim*.
Ld *Blany*, a Regiment of Horſe in *Ardmagh*, *Monaghan*, and *Fermanagh*.
Mr. *Skeffington*, Dragoons in *Down* and *Antrim*.
Sir *Arthur Rawdon*, Dragoons in *Down* and *Antrim*.
Sir *John Macgill* Foot, *Down*.
Mr. *Hamilton* of *Bangor*, Foot, *Down*.
Mr. *H——ton* of *T.* Foot, *Down*.
Mr. *Francis Hamilton*, Foot, *Ardmagh*.
Sir *Will. Franklyn*, Foot, *Antrim*.
Mr. *Upton*, Foot, *Antrim*.
Mr. *Leſley*, Foot, *Antrim*.
Mr. *Montgomery*, Foot, *Fermanagh*.

Beſides

Beſides theſe Twelve Regiments intended to have been raiſed by Commiſſion; there were ſeveral Gentlemen of greater Intereſt in their reſpective Counties, tho not thought ſo fit to be returned by the *Junto*; who purely upon their own Credit, advanced a great Number of men; for in the County of *Down*, Sir *Rob. Colvil* raiſed a full Regiment; and Mr. *Adare* another in the County of *Antrim*; and many more Independent Troops and Companies were Levied by ſeveral Gentlemen, who propoſed no other reward for their Service, but the Publick good; and therefore would not value their Intereſt at ſo cheap a rate, as to become private Centinels to ſuch as were very much their Inferiours, in Birth, Experience, and Eſtate. The Gentlemen, who had been thus forward to reſtore their Countrey, amongſt whom Mr. *Anneſly*; who by being bred a Soldier abroad, was both able and willing to ſerve, having at his own expence, raiſed a full Troop of Dragoons, and two Hundred Foot in the *Barony* of *Kinelcarty*, had their Services when offered, Rejected by the Governour.

The raiſing of Independent Troops and Companies, turned very much to the diſadvantage of ſeveral Gentlemen, who had friends enough in the Council to recommend them for Commiſſions; but wanted intereſt in the Countrey to raiſe their men; but this fell heavieſt upon Mr. *H—— ton* of *T*'s —— Regiment, who having that Precinct aſſigned him, where the Countrey had been pre-engaged to a better Intereſt, could never advance above 300. men; whereas the Volunteer Regiments conſiſted of three times that Number.

No ſooner were theſe things acted in the *North*, but *Tyrconnel* received an exact Account of them in *Dublin*; and believing my Ld *Monntjoy* to have been the private ſpring that ſet the Countrey in this motion; diſpatched an Expreſs to him, by which he was kindly entreated to return; but his Lordſhip being at that time very much indiſpoſed, offered

offered his want of Health, as a reaſon to excuſe his attendance. This Anſwer confirmed *Tyrconnel* in his former jealouſie, and made him more ſollicitous to diſengage my Ld *Mountjoy*: who was at laſt prevailed with to quit his Countrey; and being come to *Dublin*, was flattered with *Tyrconnel*'s Treacherous Deſigns of ſurrendring the Kingdom; having often heard him ſay, that he could eaſier make it a heap of rubbiſh, than any way ſerviceable to the Late King *James*. My Ld *Mountjoy* being deluded by thoſe Arts and Contrivances, into a belief of what was never really deſigned; was the eaſier perſuaded to undertake a Voyage for *France*, under pretence of acquainting the Late K. with the Circumſtances of *Ireland*, and *Tyrconnel*'s Opinion in relation to the Surrender of it. And for the greater amuſement of his Lordſhip, and the Gentlemen of the *North*, ſeveral Articles were Condeſcended to, which were very much in Favour of the Proteſtant Intereſt; for before my Ld *Mountjoy* was prevailed upon to engage in this expedition, *Tyrconnel* had ſolemnly Promiſed to put a ſtop to the intended Levies, and to disband ſuch as were but lately raiſed; he likewiſe declared againſt Quartering any more Soldiers upon the Province of *Ulſter*; or making a Gariſon of any private Houſe; and my Ld *Mountjoy* in the Name of the Proteſtants, tho without any Commiſſion from them, engaged for their good Behaviour, ſo long as thoſe Promiſes ſhould be kept, and until a return ſhould be made to this pretended Errand. The differences in *Ireland* ſeemed at this time very far advanced towards an accommodation; and it's generally believed all acts of hoſtility would have continued under a ſuſpence, if my Ld *Mountjoy* had been the only perſon entruſted with this Meſſage; but when the Proteſtants found that *Tyrconnel* had recommended one Sir *Stephen Rice*, who was then Chief Baron, and a moſt Inveterate Papiſt, to be his Lordſhip's Colleague In this Expedition, they began to ſuſpect the Deſigns of the *Iriſh*,

Iriſh, and it was generally believed that my Ld *Mountjoy*'s Commiſſion, only ſerved as a facing to the Chief Baron's private Inſtructions. It cannot be imagined that his Lordſhip could be wholly ignorant of *Tyrconnel*'s double Deſign in this Conjuncture; tho perhaps being once in *Dublin*, he could not have eaſily avoided his Commands; but his Lordſhip fearing the cenſures he might incur, from his over-eaſie compliance with them; ſet himſelf to write an Apology for engaging in this Embaſſy, in which he juſtified his Undertaking, tho againſt the Opinion of the *Northern* Proteſtants, from the private aſſurances he had of *Tyrconnel*'s Reſolution; which he could better judge of, than his Friends at a greater diſtance; and beſides this Letter to the *North*, his Lordſhip writ other Letters to ſome Perſons of Quality in *Munſter*, urging them to keep that Countrey in a peaceable expectation of his Lordſhip's return; and inviting them to it, by engaging (in an expreſſion of his own) *that all would end in a Can of mild Beer*: Notwithſtanding theſe Endeavours uſed by my Ld *Mountjoy* to reconcile the Countrey to a good Opinion of this Undertaking, every ordinary Capacity could judge, That this Errand was chiefly pretended, to give *Tyrconnel* the better Opportunity of carrying on his Deſigns; and it was generally believed, that my Ld *Mountjoy* was only made uſe of to prevent his Reſolutions of engaging on the Proteſtant Party; which was afterwards confirmed by *Tyrconnel*'s abuſe of all his Promiſes, and his Lordſhip's Impriſonment in *France*. The loſs of a Gentleman ſo conſiderably qualified for the Publick ſervice, gave a mighty blow to the Proteſtant Intereſt; but more eſpecially to the affairs of *Ulſter*, in that it made way for the Supream Council to chuſe the E—— of *M*—— for their General; who being wholly ignorant of all Military Diſcipline, and not much prepared for ſo great a Command, reſigned himſelf ſometimes to the directions of Mr. *H--ton* of *T.* a Perſon leſs qualified than his Lordſhip, being

being of Moderate Reputation for his Conduct, and oftentimes ſo unhappily fond of his own Opinion, tho never ſo inconvenient, that no arguments could alter him.

This Gentleman was entirely Governour both of the General and the Council, ſo that whatever he propoſed, paſſed beyond all contradiction for a Rule to the reſt.

The Countrey began to be jealous of the great Authority of this Gentleman; having formerly ſuſpected his Integrity from his favourable carriage towards the Papiſts at the Quarter-Seſſions; which together with his many Popiſh Relations, and great intimacy with Col. *Marcus Talbot*, baſe Son to *Tyrconnel*, made many fear that the Game began to be a little more tickliſh than formerly on the Proteſtant ſide: And that which daily encreaſed their jealouſie, was the ſeveral unfortunate events that alter'd his Councils; for having (as is ſaid) aſſumed to himſelf an abſolute Power over the Governours and Council, ſo as all things moved by his directions, it ſo hapned that nothing proſper'd in which he had a hand, very little being attempted in his time, which did not favour either of folly or ignorance; and tho ſeveral good Propoſals had been made, yet they were either not taken notice of, or elſe openly rejected; as for inſtance, It was moved that a Pacquet-Boat ſhould be ſetled between the *North* and *England*; and tho nothing was urged againſt, yet it was never effected. The want of Arms and Ammuition was complained of, and ſeveral ways Propoſed for the purchaſe of them; but they were judged needleſs, for *England* would ſupply all; when ſecuring and fortifying ſome places for a Retreat in caſe of Extremity, was diſcourſed of, that was judged unneceſſary, for we ſhould be able to deal with them in the Field; and at laſt when the Enemy came down and expected to have been oppoſed, the Paſſes were all opened, and inſtead of Uniting the Proteſtant Forces, they were induſtriouſly Diſperſed, and by that means expoſed to the loſs of their Countrey without having one ſtroke for it. But

But to proceed from what they left undone, to what they did, the first thing Resolved on, was a necessary Provision of Money, the Sinews of War, and several methods were Proposed for the raising of it; as First, by calling a private Sessions, in which they might charge the Country, under a pretence of finishing the Bridge begun at *Belfast*; but this was condemned as inconvenient: Then it was moved that Money should be advanced upon the publick Faith; but that was feared to have been almost Bankrupt. It was afterwards Proposed, That the Revenue might be Confiscated; but his was not agreed to, till the Collections were all drawn off; so that the only Methods concluded on, was, by voluntary Contributions, either in Money, or Goods, as might best suit with the Gentlemen's convenience; and it was Ordered for the better Collection and Disposal of them, that Mr. *Hamilton* of *Bangor* should be Receiver, and Mr. *H—ton* of *T's*—— Disposer. The Gentlemen of the Countrey, and Merchants of *Belfast*, having subscribed to such Sums as they were able or willing to advance; Copies of their Subscriptions were dispersed into the several Counties, and proposed as an example to induce others to Contribute; amongst the rest *H—— ton* of *T* —— for his part subscribed Thirty Pounds, which he pretended to deduct from One Hundred Pounds due to him, for so many Barrels of Beef, at 20*s. per* Barrel, laid in by him for the Publick use; but Beef being then at 12*s. per* Barrel, this piece of Policy was so obvious, that instead of being a good Example, it hindred many Gentlemen from Subscribing; who seeing in the disposers own Gifts a certain Profit, concluded that the same use would be made of theirs; and when it was afterwards desired that an account should be given of the Receipts and Disbursements, it was only Answered; *That Superiors ought not to account to their Inferiors*: But however several places were Garrison'd; and the Soldiers maintained, tho it is said, their best Subsistence was upon the *Irish* Plunder. open acts of Hostility being

now common to both Parties; insomuch as the Frontier Towns were quite wasted.

Tyrconnel in this juncture busied himself in a close Correspondence with the *North*, encouraging them to follow their Husbandry; and assuring them that he would Surrender the Government, upon the return of my Ld *Mountjoy*; but these expressions were only made use of as a Cover to his Designs; for at the very same time he was raising New Levies, and as it was confidently Reported, gave out Commissions for above 40000 Men. Amongst other *Irish* Gentlemen, who by these New Commissions were advanced to be Collonels, *Cormuck O Neale* of the County of *Antrim*, who at that time had Professed himself a Church Papist, was engaged by the Government to raise a Regiment on the Confines of *Down* and *Antrim*; but the Protestant Gentlemen of that County, supposing him to have been drawn in contrary to his inclinations, advised him against the acceptance of it, which he seemingly submitted to; but as soon as his Lieut. Col. *Felix O Neale* came into the Countrey, they privately raised their Regiment on both sides the *Ban*; and immediately Marched that part of them which Quartered on this side of the River, to Garison *Carrickfergus*; but such as lay on the other side, could not be so easily brought over, for fear of the Protestants in *Antrim*; and *Cormuck O Neal* being very sollicitous to secure a Passage for the rest of his men, purposed to have done it by making himself Master of *Tuam* Pass; but being well assured that the Protestants would be jealous of any of the Popish Troops, he was therefore forced to pretend a fear of being disarm'd by Col. *Stuart's* Soldiers; under Colour whereof he hoped to secure the March of a Troop of Dragoons to *Tuam*; but this Project was too gross to impose on the Protestant Party, who immediately Pursued the Dragoons with a small Detachment; and having given them a Total Defeat, and Dispersed that Part of *O Neale's* Regiment, They built a small Fort at the Pass, and Garison'd it with

with 60. men, thereby intercepting all correſpondence with the Papiſts beyond the *Ban*.

The Succeſs of the Proteſtants in the confines of the County of *Antrim*, and of the Ld *Blany* in ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes in *Armagh* and *Monaghan*, raiſed the Ambition of the County of *Down*, who had not hitherto approved their Courage to Attempt ſomewhat that might make them remarkable; and having often in their Cups Threatned the *Iriſh* Gariſon in the *Newry*, which had always lain forgot, aſſoon as they grew Sober, now either found or made a Noble occaſion of trying their Strength and Policy againſt *Carrickfergus*; which by the acceſſion of *Cormuck O Neale's* New-rais'd men, conſiſted of Nineteen Companies, beſides the Countrey that daily flockt to that Town, as being the only Popiſh *Aſylum* in thoſe Parts. The Proteſtants begun to grow jealous of the great Numbers crowded into that Gariſon, and to prevent the miſchiefs that might ſpring from ſo great a Concourſe of *Iriſh*, they ordered ſuch Proviſions as were deſigned for that place, to be intercepted; and amongſt others, Col. *Edmunſton* by command from the Council, ſeized on a Boat Laden with Proviſion, at *Broad-Iſland*; which was intended for my Ld *Antrim*'s private Family, and ſent it croſs the *Bay* to *Bangor*, whither the Enemy could not advance but through *Belfaſt*. The Earl incenſed at this uſage, threatned to Burn the Collonel's Houſe; who to prevent any attempt of that Nature, had ſecured it with a Gariſon of 100. Men; and the ſame deſign being declared againſt *Bangor*, Col. *Hamilton* made the ſame Proviſion againſt it. The Council upon ſecond thoughts, ordered the Boat and Proviſions to be reſtored; but Col. *Hamilton* under whoſe Command it then lay, judged it not convenient to obey their Orders, having with the advice of Sir *William Franklyn* and ſome others of the Council, reſolved to Attack the Town. The E. of *Antrim* and his Officers, having propoſed a Parley which was agreed to by the General and his Council, met at *Belfaſt* where the *Iriſh*

remonſtrating the unreaſonableneſs of intercepting their Proviſion; and finding the great concourſe of People to be the only reaſon offered by the Proteſtants, in excuſe of their uſage, they deſired leave to divide their Numbers, and that ſome of their Soldiers might Gariſon in *Belfaſt*, or any other indifferent place; but this propoſal was rejected, unleſs the Earl would firſt ſuffer them to be diſarm'd; which he obſtinately refuſed, but offered to disband the New Levies, if they could be inſured of a peaceable Living in their reſpective Houſes: The Gentlemen, who preferred the Quiet of the Countrey, thought this to have been a ſufficient condeſcention, and that the Proteſtants might have thereby gain'd a very great point, at leaſt in Reputation; but it made a different impreſſion on the General and Council, who believing this eaſie Compliance to have proceeded from an inward diſtruſt of their own Strength, concluded that nothing was wanting but a bold Attempt to make themſelves Maſters of that Gariſon. This Deſign was chiefly promoted by *H——ton* of *T*——, hoping thereby to make amends for his paſt Miſcarriage; and countenanced by the General, who never failed of a ready Aſſent to ſuch Methods, as the other thought fit to propoſe: Mr. *Hamilton* of *Bangor* was particularly concern'd to forward the Attempt; fearing leſt the Neighbourhood of that Gariſon, might prove dangerous to his private concerns, being ſenſible of the provocations he had given them, by detaining the Earl's Boat and Proviſion. Sir *W*—— *F*—— was likewiſe engaged in promoting the Attempt; for having rendred himſelf particularly obnoxious to *Tyrconnel* by his Correſpondence with him; he reſolved to reſcue himſelf from the apprehenſions of falling into his hands, by leaving the Kingdom; but being at that time entruſted with the Command of a Regiment, and his Soldiers having Notice of his Deſigns, forced him againſt his Inclinations to Stand to his Arms; which made him willing to undertake any Attempt, how deſperate ſoever, hoping thereby to wipe off the Aſperſion of his paſt Endeavours. Theſe

Theſe were the ſecret Springs upon which this Proj ct turned, againſt the general Opinion of the reſt of the Countrey; and theſe Gentlemen, with ſome of the disbanded Officers, were the chief Promoters of this Enterpriſe, which was oppos'd by Sir *Rob. Colvill*, Mr. *Tipton*, and moſt of the Countrey; who eaſily foreſaw the difficulties that attended it, and would have diſſwaded them from engaging in a deſign that would infallibly end in a diſcovery of their own weakneſs, and in all probability would haſten down *Tyrconnel*'s Forces againſt them, which they were in no condition to oppoſe; but all theſe Objections were anſwer'd by the ſtrong Reaſon which was always ready upon ſuch occaſions, *viz. That they knew beſt what was fitteſt to be done; and that to queſtion their Reſolutions after the Truſt repoſed in them, tended only to Diſorder and Confuſion.* Having reſolved to attack *Carrickfergus*, the following Stratagem was agreed on, as the beſt Expedient to effect it: Mr. *Davis*, an Inhabitant of that Town, whoſe Hoſpitality and good Humour had rendred him very much eſteemed by the Popiſh Officers, was engaged to give them ſuch a hearty Welcome, as might drown all ſenſe of their Duty, and make them incapable of oppoſing the Proteſtant Onſet; the Deſign being thus laid in the Town, Circular Letters were diſpatched from *Belfaſt*, to ſummon the Countrey Regiments to Rendezvous by Five the next morning, near *Carrickfergus*; who notwithſtanding the ſhort Warning, great Diſtance, and Winter Seaſon, were very punctual to the Commands of their General, and appeared at the Time and Place, to the Number of 3000; and tho they had undergone the Fatigues of a Rainy nights March, in a very deep way, yet were they ſo forward to approve their Courage, that nothing but the poſitive Commands of their Officers could prevent their falling on the Enemy, whoſe chief Commanders were ſo well ſecured by *Davis*'s Liquor, that it's generally believed our Soldiers might have taken the Town, by killing only the Out Centinels; but here our General and his Council, tho

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to blame before, for their ſudden Reſolutions, thought fit to act with greater deliberation; and inſtead of executing their former Reſolves, they now began to conſult anew, by which means they gave the Officers time enough to ſleep themſelves ſober, and the Gariſon an opportunity of calling a Council of War, who believing the Town not to be in ſuch a Poſture of Defence as would oppoſe the ſudden aſſault of an Enemy provided with all things neceſſary for a general Attack, judged it convenient to beat a Parley; which was readily accepted by our General; and Col. *Talbot* being ſent from the Town to manage the Conference, entertain'd our General with ſuch Trifles, as it plainly appeared that nothing was deſigned by the Enemy, but the diſcovery of our Strength, and the gaining ſo much time as might prepare them for a defence; for having mann'd their Walls, and lin'd ſome Hedges without the Town, they took no farther notice of the Parley, but Sallied on the Suburbs, Killing Plundering, and Firing all that lay before them: Upon this treacherous Abuſe, and the diſcharge of their Cannon, it was propoſed that Col. *Talbot* ſhould be ſecured for a breach of the Truce; but our General judging it neither Honourable nor convenient, diſmiſs'd him with a ſafe Convoy to the Town; and having afterwards adviſ'd with his Council, they unanimouſly agreed upon a general Attack, tho they had neither Cannon to Batter, nor Ladders to Scale, nor any other Proviſion fit for ſuch an Attempt. It is not yet known what Paſſion moved them to this deſperate Reſolution; only it is ſaid by ſome, that it was chiefly undertaken out of a fear they had, that the E. of *Antrim* would lay down his Arms to ſave his Eſtate; which was ſo conſiderable, that they had rather give him this fair opportunity of offending, than not oblige him to a forfeiture; for certainly they could not be ſo ſtupid (tho we have no great reaſon to commend their Prudence) as to flatter themſelves with the hopes of taking a Wall'd Town, well Mann'd and Fortified, with the only Artillery of Pikes and Muskets.

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Whatever the Motives were, that induc'd them to a Project ſeemingly ſo unreaſonable, their Reſolves were confirmed, and the Army divided into ſeveral Battalions for a general Aſſault, who upon the firſt Word of Command, in defiance of the Enemies Cannon, marched up to the very Walls of the Town; which they would have undoubtedly taken, if Pikes and Scythes could have prevailed; but having ſpent their Ammunition, and experienced the impoſſibility of the Attempt, they were at laſt obliged to retreat, which they perform'd with no great loſs; but their Preſervation was rather due to Providence, and the indiſcretion of their Enemies, than to the Care or Conduct of their Geral, or Council; who after they had given Orders for the Attack, left their Soldies expoſed to the Cannon, and retired under the Shelter of a Barley Field and Pidgeon-houſe, hoping thereby te ſecure themſelves from the Noiſe and Danger of the Enemies Shot. The news of this Retreat having advanced as far as the Head-Quarters; the General and his Council concluded upon a Parley; and being reſolved it ſhould end in Peace, the Soldiers were commanded to their former Quarters; in this conjuncture it was thought the Town might have propoſed their own Terms, but Col. *Talbot* being willing to return the Civilities lately received, only inſiſted upon the ſame Propoſals that had been formerly made by the Earl of *Antrim*, and deſir'd that a Ceſſation might be punctually obſerved on both ſides, 'till ſuch time as freſh Supplies ſhould be ſent from *Dublin*.

The General and Council facing their ill Succeſs with the pretended Advantages they boaſted to have gain'd upon this Parley, returned as it were in Triumph to *Hilsburgh*; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that they were wound up to ſuch a degree of inſenſibility, as not to be touch'd with a ſenſe of their misfortunes, conſidering they had failed in an Attempt which was undertaken upon their bare humour, contrary to the Directions and Advice of the reſt of the Countrey; the evil Conſequence that followed the Proteſtant's

Defeat

Defeat at *Carrickfergus*, ſo far encouraged the *Iriſh*, that they immediately ventured upon Publick Acts of Hoſtility, plundering the Proteſtant Houſes at *Noon day*, and Maſſacring ſuch as they thought would have oppoſed their Villanies: And now the Dragoons of the *Newry*, who never before durſt quit their Gariſon, ventured themſelves abroad, and having intelligence of the advance of a Proteſtant Party under the Command of Capt. *Poe*, which had been detatch'd from *Loughbrickland* for Forage, they laid an Ambuſcade, and by a Surprize killed the Captain and Eight of his men.

As theſe and many other unfortunate Accidents which enſued the Defeat at *Carrickfergus*, very much advanced the Reputation of the Popiſh Party; ſo on the other ſide, it made a quite different Impreſſion on the Proteſtant Soldiers, who were ſo far diſcouraged by their ill Succeſs, and for ever after entertained ſo mean an opinion of their General and Council, that for the future they never yielded an exact Obedience to their Commands.

Upon this Defeat at *Carrickfergus*, there arrived a Packet of Declarations at *Hilsburgh*, directed to the General, &c. Requiring all the *Iriſh* to lay down their Arms by the 10th of *April*, on pain of being accounted Rebels, with an aſſurance of Pardon and Protection to ſuch as embrac'd the Propoſals, and a promiſe of the Eſtates of the obſtinate, to ſuch perſons as ſhould contribute towards their Reduction. This Declaration was ſo careſſed by the Ptoteſtants, that they cauſed them to be publickly read in ſeveral Market Towns, and at the ſame time proclaimed K. *William* and Q. *Mary*. This great Solemnity was ſcarce over, when Capt. *Leighton* returned with Commiſſions for ſuch Regiments as had been recommended by the Council; but there being at this time ſome Regiments and ſeveral Independent Troops and Companies which were not eſtabliſhed by any of theſe new Commiſſions, and were to be of courſe thereby disbanded, it was very much to be feared that this great Change might widen the Breaches already begun between the Coun-

Countrey and their Council; for the better preventing of which, it was propos'd, That the Countrey ſhould act in their own Model, till ſuch time as more Commiſſions were ſent over; and that in the interim, all Perſons ſhould join their ſtrength to avert the dangers that Threatned their Speedy Ruine; but this met with the Fate of ſeveral other good propoſals, and was generally rejected.

Now Danger began to draw near; of which *Tyrconnel*'s Proclamation was a Forerunner; Commanding all Perſons in *Ulſter*, to give up their Arms, and Serviceable Horſes, with an offer of Pardon to all ſuch as had been any way Engaged, excepting the E. of *Mountalexander*, L^d *Maſſareen*, Ld *Kingſton*, Mr. *Sheffings*, Sir *Robert Colvill*, Sir *Arthur Rawden*, Sir *John Macgill*, Mr. *Hawkin's*, Mr. *Sanderſon*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, now Sir *Francis Hamilton*, who were ſaid to have Sinned beyond his Mercy; ſeveral of thoſe Proclamations were ſent into the *North*, and induſtriouſly diſtributed to the Gentlemen of that Countrey, who remained fixed to their former Reſolution, notwithſtanding the many Threats and Promiſes that were urged to perſuade them to other Meaſures. Theſe coming to the hands of *H---ton* of *T.*—, he burned them, inſtead of diſperſing them.

Such Gentlemen as read this Proclamation, were not a little ſurpriſed to find ſeveral Perſons, who had always appeared moſt Active and Open in the Proſecution of the Proteſtant Deſigns, not comprehended in the claule of exemption; for neither Mr. *H — ton* of *T*——, who was the moſt Active, and indeed the Principal manager of the whole Affair, who had a caſting Voice in all their Councils; nor any of the *Hamiltons* of *Down*, *Antrim*, or *Ardmagh*, were foreprized, tho Gentlemen that Acted in Conjunction with them; and others that were Inferior to them, were particularly exempted; but this only ſerved to revive the former jealouſie the Countrey had of Mr. *H.* of *T*'s ſincerity.

Tyrconnel, who at this time was undoubtedly privy to every particular circumſtance that hapned in the *North*, and

perhaps had been the chief Contriver of what was Tranſacted: Now he began to think it convenient to prepare his Army for a March towards thoſe Parts; and having made a neceſſary Proviſion for the ſubſiſtance of his Soldiers, he diſpatched part of it to *Carrickfergus* by Sea, which was then in want, and the reſt he ſent by Land; but it hapning that one of his Ships Laden with Bisket, was forced into *Dundium Bay*, and immediately Seiſed by the Proteſtant Gariſon, and ſent to the publick Stores, to be laid up for their March againſt the *Iriſh*. From theſe Preparations it was generally concluded, that *Tyrconnel*'s Army would be ſuddenly on it's March, and therefore thought adviſeable that ſuch neceſſary Meaſures ſhould be taken, as might beſt ſerve to oppoſe their entrance; but ſo it hapned, that in this Conjuncture, a News Letter was pretended to have been received by the Council; and tho all Correſpondence between *Dublin* and the *North* had been intercepted for a conſiderable time before, yet this Letter came dated from thence, and was induſtriouſly Diſperſed by ſome of the Council, as a true account of the Popiſh Circumſtances; in which were contained ſeveral Arguments to urge the Improbability of Marching an *Iriſh* Army *Northward*, chiefly drawn from the intractable Genius of the New-rais'd Forces, their want of Arms and Ammunition, and the general Apprehenſion they lay under from the Proteſtant Numbers, and the Landing of an *Engliſh* Army. Theſe obſervations, with ſeveral other leſs remarkable, were the ſubject-matter of this Letter; which coming down at a time, when the whole Countrey was big with the expectation of an *Iriſh* Army, the News whereof had been confirm'd by ſeveral particular Accounts, made different impreſſions upon the Proteſtant Gentlemen; ſome of them ſuppoſing it to have been deviſed by *Tyrconnel*, and ſent down on purpoſe to amuſe the Countrey; hoping thereby to render his Motions leſs ſuſpected; but this conſtruction being inconſiſtent with his Printed Proclamation, was generally rejected; and

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tho it seemed very hard to place this contrivance upon any of the Council, which only tended to the confusion of their former Designs; yet there were some amongst them, who were severely censured for their too great Industry in Publishing it, when it was in their Power to have it suppressed.

This Letter, tho it weighed but little with the Gentlemen of the Countrey; yet the General and Council seemed so far convinced by the reasons of it, that they Postponed their former resolve of Providing against the approach of the Enemy; for tho they had always proposed to fortifie and secure *Hilsburgh* for a Retreat, it being the only Fort in *Down* and *Antrim*, excepting *Carrickfergus*, which lay convenient for the Defence of the Frontiers, and was at that time a Magazine of all their Arms and Ammunition; yet they rejected all offers that were made in pursuance of their former Designs; and neither suffered the Trenches to be Scoured, nor Commanded any other thing to be done which was necessary for the Defence of it; tho the Inferior Councils being more sensible of their Duty, Fortified and secured many places of less consequence. *Tyrconnel*'s Forces being advanced under the Command of Lieut. Gen. *Hamilton*, within an easie days March of the *North*, the whole Countrey seeming more apprehensive of the dangers that might attend their former security, busied themselves in a warmer application to their General and Council, who being now sensible of their credulous Error, promised to use their utmost Endeavours against the approach of the Enemy; upon which they made a show of drawing the Forces of the two Counties into one Body, which being above 10000 men, would in all probability been able to have disputed, if not defended the Countrey from the farther advance of the *Irish* Army; tho it must be confessed, the greatest part of them wanted the Exercise and Arms of a well Trained Militia; but that might have been in a great measure supplied by the Prudent Proposals of some Gentlemen, who advis'd that the Passes might be Guarded by their best men, and such only left to secure their Countrey, as were less Serviceable.

If theſe Meaſures had been taken, we ſhould have certainly impeded the Enemies Progreſs, and have thereby given time enough to the more *Northern* Counties, to have joined their Numbers, who had been engag'd to advance upon the firſt Alarm: but the General and Council, inſtead of following this advice, only continued their Forces in motion, ſtill keeping them at their former diſtance; which Method was the great occaſion of our enſuing Miſeries; for the ſeveral petty Diviſions deſparing of any Succeſs from their own Strength, never durſt encounter the Enemy, who always Marched in a main Body. The firſt inſtance of this Nature hapned at *Loughbrickland*, a place within 3 Miles of the *Newry*; where only a Detachment of Sir *John Macgil*'s Regiment, and an inconſiderable party of Sir *Arthur Rawden*'s Dragoons, were poſted, who no ſooner heard that *Tyrconnel*'s Army had enter'd the *Newry*, but they retired in ſuch confuſion, that the whole Countrey ſeemed ſtruck with the Retreat. The Enemy making the right uſe of this accident, immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of *Loughbrickland*, and ſoon afterwards advanced towards *Drummore*, which was Gariſon'd by 300 Horſe, and ſome Foot, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Rawden*, and Mr. *W*———, who having notice of their March, poſted a Detachment of Horſe at the 2 Mile Bridge, with ſtrict Orders to Skirmiſh the Enemies Scouts, and to give what other diverſion they could to their Main Body; but having engaged too far, ſeveral of them were cut off, and the reſt obliged to a haſty Retreat. Sir *Arther Rawden* continued in the Town, 'very minute, expecting to be inforc'd with a conſiderable Supply, but was much ſurprized to receive the General's Orders to Retreat to *Hilsburgh*, which was three Miles behind *Drummore*. This ſudden diſappointment made him reſolve upon his own Methods; and inſtead of Retreating to *Hilsburgh*, he marched his men within view of the Enemy, whom he diſcovered to be very numerous, and advancing in great haſte, but excellent Order; which made Sir *Arthur* halt, and conſulting with his Officers what was

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fit to be done, he found his Right Wing ſurrounded ; and concluding the Enemy deſigned to hem in his Party, they all agreed upon a Retreat; and the only doubt that remained was, who ſhould be formoſt. Lieut. *Price*, and two others, after the Retreat of the reſt, bravely charged the Enemy, and *Price* having ſhot Col. *Sheldon*'s Horſe, by which he very much endangered his Life, was afterwards, by the failure of his own, expoſed to the Revenge of the *Iriſh*.

The bold Attempt of theſe three men, gave a conſiderable diverſion to the whole Army ; ſo that in purſuit of the Proteſtant Party, which haſted full Gallop to *Hilsburgh* ; there were not above 20 men kill'd; but if the Fort had not put a ſtop to the *Iriſh* Career, they had certainly cut off the reſt, who under that ſhelter made good their eſcape, ſome to *Colrain*, others to *Portferry* every one ſteering ſuch a Courſe as he judged fartheſt from the preſent Danger.

The General and Council had hitherto reſided in *Hilſburgh*, which was the place appointed for the heart of the *North*, from whence the ſeveral Counties were to have derived their Principles of Motion ; and yet they were ſo careleſs of defending a Poſt ſo conſiderable, that the day before this Rout, it had not the ordinary Proviſion of a Gariſon ; for on that day Mr. *Weſt*, (Major to Mr. *H--ton* of *T*— was commanded to advance with ſuch of his men as were fit for ſervice, who in purſuance of their Orders, enforced the Town with 120 men, and propoſing the Defence of it with the only addition of 500 more, at leaſt till ſuch time as the ſcattered Forces of the *North* might be drawn together, who might have been able to have raiſed the Siege,) had his offer reſiſted, tho there were at this time in *Lisburn* 2000 Soldiers ſent from the County of *Antrim* ; and the only reaſon given by the General and Council for rejecting *Weſt*'s Propoſal, was the want of neceſſary Proviſions for ſo great a body: The Major not being well ſatisfied with the Meaſures taken by the Council, was however reſolved to uſe his beſt Endeavours towards ſecuring the Town, and only deſired

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to be furniſh'd with ſuch Inſtruments as might ſerve to ſcour the Trenches; and that the Trees which grew neareſt the Town, might be cut down, leſt they might prove ſerviceable to the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to Scale the Walls; but theſe requeſts were alſo rejected, the firſt for want of Money to buy ſuch Neceſſaries as were deſired, and the other for fear of diſobliging the Owners; theſe ſlight Excuſes made the Gentlemen of the Countrey ſuſpect ſome other Deſigns; which were ſoon afterward plainly diſcovered by the Reſolutions taken in the next Council: The General having declared the Town not tenable, turned every man over to his own ſhifts. The Soldiers were ſo much ſurprized with this ſudden opinion, that they would not be induc'd to a belief of it 'till their General left the Gariſon expoſed to the rage of the Enemy, and in great haſte poſted towards *Portferry*, where he met with the conveniency of being tranſported out of all danger. Mr. *H—ton* of *T—* having particularly recommended the care of his Regiment to their own Conduct, haſted towards *Belfaſt* in ſuch a hurry, that he left behind him a Portmantue of the publick Papers, and 150 *l.* of the Counties Stock, tho he refuſed the day before to advance ſo much Money as would have brought the Forces together. This, with much more Plunder of a conſiderable value, beſides 15 Barrels of Powder, and a braſs Field-piece, were left as a prey to the *Iriſh*, who have ſince made uſe of the Papers as a publick Teſtimony againſt the perſons concerned in the Aſſociation, upon which has been grounded the corruption of our Blood, and forfeiture of our Eſtates.

Tho *H—ton* of *T—* had been thus careleſs of what concern'd the Publick, yet he ſhew'd more prudence in the preſervation of his private Fortune: For, very well knowing what would happen, he engag'd his Brother the night before the Break at *Drummore*, to haſten home, and provide againſt the Storm that was then gathering.

Hilsburgh being wholly deſerted by the General and Coun-

Council, Major *Weſt*, who had earneſtly preſſed them to other meaſures, was ſtill reſolv'd to ſell the Place at as dear a price as he could; and therefore propoſed the Defence of it to ſuch of the Soldiers as yet remain'd in the Fort, aſſuring them of his firm adherence to their endeavours, and urging the many difficulties that would neceſſarily attend their retreat. But all theſe Arguments could not engage them to ſtand the teſt of an *Iriſh* Attack; for the Example of their General, and the Advice of the Council, ſo far influenc'd their wonted Courage, that only Sixty of them could be prevail'd with to run the Major's Fate; who diſpos'd of them in ſuch order, as made the *Iriſh* believe they were many times that number; upon which they ſent a Trumpeter to ſummon the Town; and a Parley being agreed on both ſides, Capt. *Kirk* was diſpatched with Conditions of Surrender, importing a free Pardon for what was paſt, and a Protection for the future; which being embrac'd by the Gariſon, and confirm'd by the Lieutenant-General, the *Iriſh* were admitted into the Town; and finding the Gates only ſhut with a Half-Pike, admired the Majors courage, and condemned the General and Council for making no better preparations towards the defence of a place ſo conſiderable. Major *Weſt* and his Soldiers notwithſtanding their Articles, were for the firſt night kept cloſe priſoners, under the pretence of protecting them from the inſolence of the Soldiers; tho the true reaſon was to prevent a diſcovery of the ill circumſtances the *Iriſh* Army was under, from the fatigue of their tedious Winter March, which was ſo haraſs'd, that it's believed a very little oppoſition would have obliged them to a retreat.

The melancholly news of this Rout coming to *Lisburn*, and the diſmal accounts given in by the Runaways from *Hilsburgh*, ſtruck the Soldiers of that Gariſon, with ſuch terrible apprehenſions of the *Iriſh* Force, that they unanimouſly agreed to follow the example of their General, and Mr. *H*——. of *T*. after he had for ſome time condol'd the misfor-

misfortunes of the Countrey with the People of *Belfaſt*, he aſſured all ſuch as had any dependance on him, that would retreat to *Colrain*, that he had reſolved either to repair the diſtreſſed Condition of the Countrey, or to perish in the Attempt. This Reſolution encouraged ſeveral of his Friends to march towards *Colrain*, but Mr. *H—ton* taking a private Path to the Sea-ſide, met with a Veſſel purpoſely prepared to Tranſport him for *Scotland*.

The *Iriſh* Rabble of the whole Countrey were now employed by Publick Authority to plunder and deſtroy the Lives and Fortunes of the Proteſtants; which they performed with ſuch Cruelty, that the Inſolencies of the Standing Army ſeemed favours, when compared with the bloody Outrages of thoſe barbarous Cannibals; and now the publick Cries of ſuch as had eſcaped the *Iriſh* Fury for the loſs of their deareſt Friends, and the naked Appearances of thoſe who had been moſt inhumanly ſtripped, caſt the whole Countrey under ſuch a general Conſternation, that it was impoſſible to revive the hearts of the dejected Proteſtants; ſo that no hopes were left to rally the broken pieces of the *Engliſh* Army; and the Enemy by this means became abſolute Maſters of the whole Countrey, without the expence of many drops of Blood; for the Counties of *Down* and *Antrim* being the only Inlets to the *Northern* Province, we may very well date the loſs of *Ulſter* (at that time the only remaining terror to the *Iriſh*) from the evil Succeſs that followed the Councels of that Countrey.

I ſhall now refer the remaining Series of this Affair, to the relation of others, who by being Witneſſes to the Truth thereof, are only fit for ſo publick a Work; having in this Treatiſe with all Sincerity and Juſtice imaginable, given the Reader the whole matter of Fact, which to my own knowledg occurr'd in theſe Counties. And that he may have nothing from me by hear-ſay, I ſhall now leave him to judg by whom and in what manner *Ulſter* has been expoſed to the Fury of the *Iriſh*, whoſe Mercies are Cruelties: And how all the Nobility and Gentry thereof have ſuffered as well in their Reputations, as in the loſs of their Eſtates, for the Miſcarriages of a few.

FINIS.